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CANADA AS IT IS!

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED NOVEMBER 28TH, 1891.

— BEFORE THE —

COMMERCIAL CLUB OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.

— BY —

HON. J. A. CHAPLEAU, M.P., Q.C.

SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

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Queen's University at Kingston

HON. J. A. CHAPLEAU, Q.C., M.P.,

ON THE

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

The Commercial Club of Providence, R.I., on the evening of Saturday, November 28th, 1891, for the second time in its history, devoted its attention to the question of closer trade relations between the United States and Canada. Mr. Erastus Wiman spoke before the club in February on the advantages of reciprocity with Canada. The speeches on this occasion were to set before the members the Canadian Conservative view, as to the length Canada should go in negotiating a commercial treaty with the United States. The Canadian guests were Hon. J. A. Chapleau, Secretary of State, Mr. Richard White, managing director of the Montreal *Gazette*, Mr. John Macfarlane, of the Canada Paper Compay, and Mr. L. H. Taché. In the evening at 6 o'clock a reception took place in the Narragansett Hotel parlors. At 7 o'clock the dinner began.

There were about seventy gentlemen present. Mr. Arthur H. Watson, President of the Club, had the head of the table. Hon. J. A. Chapleau sat at his right, with Governor Ladd and Senator Dixon beyond, and Mr. Richard White and Mr. John Macfarlane on his left. The other guests included Congressman Lapham, Lieut.-Gov. Stearns, Secretary of State Utter, Speaker of the House Capron, Mayor Smith, Col. Samuel P. Colt, Mr. Richard S. Howland, Mr. Edwin G. Angell, &c., &c.

At 9 o'clock President Watson rose and called the gathering to order.

Mr. Watson introduced Mr. Chapleau as the principal speaker. He said : "This evening the Club has the honor to entertain a distinguished member of the Canadian Ministry, a gentleman who is by birth an orator and by education a statesman, who has held many important offices of state, and who, as a leader of the Conservatives, is admirably qualified to speak of Canada as she is, as she has been, and as he hopes she may be. I have very great pleasure in introducing the Hon. J. A. Chapleau, Secretary of State for the Dominion of Canada."

CANADA AS IT IS.

Mr. Chapleau said: "Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—The cordiality of the welcome you have given me reassures me against the natural fear which a stranger must experience in venturing to address, in a language foreign to his own, such an assemblage as I see before me. I had felt honored by the kind and flattering invitation tendered to me by your club; and now, even before I have accomplished the arduous task I have undertaken in accepting your invitation, I feel rejoiced and happy to have accepted it, when I look at the sympathetic faces—when I hear the sympathetic greetings with which you receive me.

"I understand now why I was not stopped by the American Customs officer in entering this country: that intelligent officer must have at once understood that my engagement here was not an alien labor contract but a most pleasurable visit to a beautiful and most hospitable city. Certainly I could not desire to have a more intelligent and representative audience of the American people than I have here to-night. Smallest of all among the States of the Union, Rhode Island, like the little tribe of Benjamin among the twelve tribes of Israel, has always stood among the foremost of the brotherhood of the republics of the Western Continent. Foremost in order of history, for was it not here that the Northmen settled five hundred years before Columbus crossed the ocean ? Foremost in the gay world of fashion, so long as Newport remains the crowned queen of society. Foremost in manufacturing enterprise, in proportion to its population. Foremost in its unequalled library, to which students of American history throughout the world must come, and in the front rank of intellect by its university, the Alma Mater of so many

BRILLIANT AND DISTINGUISHED MEN.

That splendid pile of university buildings, your public library, your athenæum, all with their magnificent collections of books, going up into high scores of thousands, are monuments of your greatness that put to shame populations of five times your magnitude. (Cheers.) Your state enjoys the proud distinction of having inaugurated the real development of the cotton manufacturing industry on this continent, an industry that has grown to proportions so colossal, since Samuel Slater's modest initial efforts at Providence and at Pawtucket Falls. Standing here and looking back into the pages of history, I am reminded that this city of yours is on

sacred ground. Sacred to the cause of religious liberty, which here had its birthplace, and sacred to the memory of Roger Williams, 'one,' if I am allowed to quote a high-minded Protestant writer, 'of the sweetest souls with which God ever adorned the earth we tread.' Political liberty you who dwell in New England had always in abundance, but religious liberty you had not, nor did it anywhere exist in the English colonies until, in the mind of Roger Williams, there dawned the idea of liberty of the soul. I say nowhere else, for even the charter of Maryland excluded Unitarians. First of all in this City of Providence was announced the only theory under which men can live in harmony and peace,

THE PRINCIPLE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

If, then, gentlemen, the history of your fair city raises such noble thoughts, how much does its name, Providence? —"La Providence," for the word is a French word too. How it raises our thoughts to the Father of all men whose hand guides the destiny of nations as well as of men—who protected Roger Williams in the wilderness of Narragansett and Champlain on the shore of the great river to the north.

"Gentlemen, as I look around and see in your beautiful city, and in an audience such as this, the evidence of prosperity and culture, I can see how bountifully Providence has blessed you. His hand has led you along the checkered path of your destiny and brought you out in peace and plenty. I rejoice at it—and as I think of your career and that of the great Union of Republics of which you form part—as I picture, in my imagination, the opening vistas of your increasing prosperity, I rejoice—for, in the family of nations, we are learning that the prosperity of one is the prosperity of all. Gentlemen—sons of Roger Williams—children of Providence—can there be a 'Providence' for you and none for us? We know that cannot be. We men of the North feel and know that we also have a history and a career and a destiny before us, and that the luminous star which has guided you will also guide us. We feel that Providence has entrusted to our hands the development of the northern half of this continent, and we are not cowards to shrink from our task.

"Men may come here and tell you that the political party I represent are actuated by hostile feelings to you; if they speak so they tell you falsehoods. (Hear, hear and cheers.) Yes falsehoods. (Hear, hear and cheers.) Our feelings are kindly, and we are as desirous as they are of extending the intercourse between our country and yours to the farthest limit of friendship consistent with manly dignity. Why should we not be so? But the difference between their party and mine is that my party believes in the destinies of Canada—theirs does not. My party believes in a providential career for our country, their party thinks that there is no Providence save for others. My firm belief is that your country and mine can go on, each in its own sphere, developing the resources of this continent side by side in brotherly amity, distinguished by these individual differences which mark the members of one household, but bearing the family lineaments of civil and political liberty which stamp the races from which we have sprung.

placed side by side by nature, must either be friends or enemies ; they are too near neighbors, they have too many interests in common, too much ambition of the same kind to be indifferent to each other. I think it is time they should be friends. (Hear, hear.)

" If we look back to the past, we find that the two countries started the same year in the race for life. Quebec and Jamestown of Virginia, were both founded in 1608. Now England was planted later on. The young Colonies were not out of their leading strings when they began that long series of wars which only ended by the cession of Canada. These were hard times, when force reigned supreme, when the life of man was counted for very little ; when both countries seemed to borrow the ferocity of the Indians. Your ancestors were accused of having sent the Mohawks to butcher, in the dead of night, the inhabitants of Lachine. My ancestors retaliated by sending expeditions against Deerfield and Haverhill, to accomplish massacres which were considered great deeds in those times. And to think that Canadians have travelled, for that glorious deed, all the way from Montreal to Massachusetts on snowshoes, in the middle of winter ! Finally the seven years war put an end to the struggle and you came out victors. The colony of New France, had practically been abandoned by the Mother Country, who did not much value " these few acres of snow," as Voltaire called Canada. It was from Boston, and, therefore, from the territory of Rhode Island, that the hardest blows were directed against New France. It was so much so that the English colonists were known in Canada, not as the Americans, but as the Bostonians (les Bostonnais), a name by which the people of the United States were known along the shores of the St. Lawrence, up to a very few years ago.

" One feature has always struck me when reading the history of these eventful times ; it is the strange, if not the deep diplomacy by which your forefathers alternately used England to turn the French out of Canada, and then used the power of France to drive the English out of this country.

" But, gentlemen, that is the history of the past, and, thank Heaven, it is forgotten, in this sense, that no evil feeling survives those terrible times. I am not exaggerating when I say that there is no nation under the sun that has more prestige in the eyes of the Canadians than the Americans. We share the admiration of the world for your greatness, your progress, your institutions, which we would envy if we did not enjoy the same liberties as those you are blessed with. Like the United States, Canada is a democracy organized on a liberal basis, where the race for power, wealth and honors is open to all ; where men at the helm to-day have mostly all come from the humblest ranks of society.

" And, now, gentlemen, let me again turn back to the pages of history and, from its teachings, explain to you the real " struggle in Canada" and the true position of " Canada as it is." Let me show you the true issue which lately returned to power those who are now ruling our country, and clear away from your minds those mists of misconception which our enemies have thrown around it in order to disguise their own folly and failure. Let me tell you of some of the people who founded my Northland home. Very little

more than one hundred years ago there sailed from the port of New York a fleet of English ships bearing with it one of the saddest burdens recorded in history, but one full, also, of lessons of hope and of courage. It was the fleet which carried

THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS

seeking in the wilderness new homes and political institutions after their own hearts. That was a small part of the total emigration; yet, in the space of a few weeks, twelve thousand souls—men, women and children—sailed from that single port of New York. They were not obscure or unknown people. They were mostly from the educated classes of colonists—owners of property and professional men—but there were people among them of all classes of society. Many of them had served the King in arms. They had fought for a great idea—they were unionists against secessionists and had fought for the organic union of the Anglo-Saxon race. Few of them had approved of the parliamentary measures which precipitated the Revolution; but, in war, only two sides are possible, and they chose that which, in their view, had the better right. They left behind them broad cultivated fields and roomy mansions to begin the world anew in log huts and tents. The fleet carried them to the rocky coasts of Acadia, a name which covers the territory now known as New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. New Brunswick was not known for years after as a separate Province, and but a handful of people were scattered over that immense territory."

"Other exiles streamed over the northern border of the colonies which had become the United States. They entered what is now the prosperous Province of Ontario, then a wilderness of forest roamed through by scattered bands of Missisauga Indians. Their strong arms and brave hearts supported them in their arduous labours, and they built up in Ontario, as in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, political institutions unsurpassed in the union of freedom with order, by anything which the genius of the Anglo-Saxon race has produced elsewhere. They became farmers in the western province and on the Atlantic coast, they became sailors; or, rather, they continued to be sailors; for the settlers were chiefly from the seaboard colonies; and at this very day, owing to their maritime enterprise and skill, the Dominion of Canada stands fourth among the nations of the world in the registered tonnage of shipping. Thus the loyalists proceeded to clear up a new land for themselves—now the Dominion of Canada."

"Loyalists! A strange word that—singularly antiquated. For are not all the "enlightened" asking what is loyalty? Why should an illusion of past ages invade the domain of practical politics? These absurd people—these ancestors of ours—only a hundred years ago actually had political principles. Loyalty is the honor of nations—an abstract idea which "disillusionized" people do not apprehend. Practical men sneer at such abstractions, but practical men are, in such matters, the most inconsequential in the whole world. The world is, and always has been, ruled by ideas; for man does nor live by bread alone, and nations which lose their ideals disappear, not having any real inner continuity of life. Loyalty in a people is what character is in a

man, the inner and abiding principle which shapes his outward conduct to one definite and steadily consistent type, and grows stronger in thus shaping it. Loyalty is that which holds together the congeries of races and tongues called Switzerland, and which saved the United States in the great civil war. So much for one element which had a large share in making the history of Canada, but intermingled with them was a people of noble and ancient lineage, to whom I am proud to belong—a people isolated from the parent stock—a people abandoned by their natural parents, who found in the British Crown, though alien in race, in language and religion, a friend and protector when their need was the sorest, and under whose sway they enjoyed that liberty of the soul of which Roger Williams had dreamed. Is it any wonder, then, gentlemen, that gratitude with the French colonist should soon have developed into loyalty, and that there should have sprung up a deep-rooted feeling of attachment to the British crown as the tried guardian of their language, their institutions and their laws. (Cheers.) With such a stock of men, strong-hearted, level-headed, patient toilers of the land and sea, Canada was well equipped for all emergencies; against open aggression as well as subtle and tortuous methods of encroachments. And God knows we were spared neither of those. Whether we look back into our memories or listen to our grandparents, we find that every decade had brought its own troubles and alarms. There were the Maine boundary, the Oregon question, the sympathizers of '37, the "codfish war," the Fenian raids, and other weary disputes, during every one of which our speedy and irretrievable ruin has been confidently predicted; just as our candid friends are now cheerfully waiting the appalling results of the McKinley tariff to overtake us. But with all this the prudent and thinking men who happened to govern our country during those irritating times, relying upon the loyalty and the tried experience of the people, succeeded in preserving confidence at home and peace abroad. We had the extraordinary case of a Prime Minister reigning almost supreme over a democratic community, during over a quarter of a century, almost without interruption. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) It must be admitted, however, that

THE PRESENT CANADIAN OPPOSITION

had good reason to anticipate success at the elections which would necessarily have taken place in the autumn, for the sixth parliament was in the last year of its life. The influence of the Local Government was in their favor in all the provinces. They had been out of power since 1878, and it was their turn, for a Government so long in office as the present Dominion Cabinet, must make many active enemies and lukewarm friends. The farmers were uncomfortable and disposed for a change, when the Opposition committed the irretrievable blunder of identifying their party with a policy of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, and thus traversing the continuous traditions of Canadian sentiment and history. Sir John Macdonald watched the moment when they should become hopelessly committed, and then, unexpectedly, dissolved the House and threw himself upon the national feeling of the people. The battle was fought politically, as far as party programme went, on a

protectionist basis, but really upon a far deeper issue—that of national existence. No doubt this was disclaimed by the Opposition. No doubt Sir Richard Cartwright comes of a good loyal stock. No doubt Mr. Laurier would deprecate a union which would dwarf the importance of his race and religion, but, covered up though it was in every way, the issue was there, and the quick sense of

THE PEOPLE DETECTED IT AT ONCE.

They felt that, in a "dicker" with the United States Government, the national independence was safer in the hands of the present Cabinet than in that of their opponents.

"That a proposition to permit the United States Government to regulate our commerce and settle our tariff should have secured even the measure of support it did, ought to suggest much searching of conscience to our present rulers. The power proposed to be handed over so frankly to Washington we had won after a long and hard struggle with our own motherland. It was a thing above all others of which we were most jealous, and yet, at the last election, an important minority voted apparently to yield it up to the United States. Any stone is good enough to throw at a political antagonist and, once in power, the Opposition would feel its responsibilities; but to permit Congress to close our ports against Great Britain, by means of the McKinley tariff or any such Chinese legislation as it may adopt, is not a declaration of independence—something might be said for that—but a renunciation of independence and a declaration of abject dependence which would stagger the self-respect of the smallest Central American republic. Such a policy would rapidly diminish the imports from England and France and utterly destroy our own manufactures. Then after ten or twelve years, the Detroit experience would be repeated. We should be told that we ought not to expect the advantages of free trade with the United States unless we are prepared to share all the burdens of citizens. Then with our manufactures ruined and our self-respect gone we should be compelled to sneak by a back way into the American Union, instead of entering it like free men by free men's votes. But, say "superior persons," why resist the inevitable? Annexation must come sooner or later, and they point to the wealth of the United States—its millionaires, the greatest in the world. The reply is easy. Very rich men are not a strength but a weakness to a state. (Hear, hear). Enormous disparity of fortune has always been a sign of impending change, and the stability of a state rests rather upon the absence of very poor men than upon the presence of very rich ones. Again the *Review of Reviews* assures us, in connection with a portrait of Mr. Wiman, that "Canada is the outer fringe" upon a great industrial community of which it should normally be an integral portion. Canada has not the material resources of the United States, but she has existed independent of them since the settlement of America; first as French Canada, then as Canada of the exiles, and now as Canada of a united people, and there seems to a Canadian no reason why she should not continue independent. Moreover, let it be granted that eventually that is her fate, it is no reason why she should rush to it. A man of sense does not shoot himself because he must die some day. (Cheers and laughter.) A good deal has been said at various times in our history

about the invasion of Canada from the United States. There might be some reason of late to talk about the invasion of the United States from Canada. (Hear, hear.) Contrary to the custom of war, however, the invaders from Canada receive the

KINDEST RECEPTION IN THIS COUNTRY.

(Cheers.) Some become citizens of the United States and help to increase your prosperity. Some come here for the purpose of negotiating treaties, not always with success. And some, like myself, come at the kindest of invitations to deliver public addresses on public questions. And all of them have occasion to say at the end of the visit, what Artemus Ward is reported to have said to the people of a western town, 'Gentlemen, I never was in a place where I was treated so well, nor, I may add, so often." (Laughter.) This kindly treatment, well and often, did not begin to-day. Long ago, in 1854, Lord Elgin was received in the United States with a remarkable enthusiasm. (Cheers.) In 1850 the people of Buffalo gave him a reception on the occasion of a formal visit to the Welland Canal. An amusing story has been told by the Mayor of Buffalo at the time. An enthusiastic guest, as he listened to Lord Elgin, said, 'Fine fellow! If he comes here we'll make him Mayor.' As the speech went on, the enthusiastic gentleman said excitedly, 'By George! we'll make him Governor of the State.' And finally, as the eloquent orator worked on the feelings of the audience, the Mayor's friend slapped the Mayor on the shoulder and cried, 'Heavens! we'll make him President—nothing less than President.' (Cheers and laughter.) In 1865, one of the greatest orators that Canada ever produced, Hon. Joseph Howe, was present at the great convention at Detroit and delivered an address on the occasion, which deserves to be considered as one of the great orations of the literature of public affairs on this continent. I refer to that speech for the special purpose of quoting from it one paragraph which is as true and as living in its interest as it was upon the day its utterance moved the

MINDS OF THE DETROIT CONVENTION.

'I may well feel awed,' said Mr. Howe, 'in the presence of such an audience as this, but the great question which brings us together is worthy of the audience and challenges their grave consideration. What is that question? Sir, we are to determine how best we can draw together in the bonds of peace, friendship and commercial prosperity, the three great branches of the British family. In the presence of this great theme all petty interests should stand rebuked. We are not dealing with the concerns of a city, a province, or a state, but with the future of our race in all time to come. In 1874 Lord Dufferin, whose name in every part of the world is a synonym for brillancy and ability, had a friendly reception from the Chicago Board of Trade and in the course of his speech he said, 'In the policy which the Government of Canada has shown itself willing to promote, I believe there existed but one motive, and that is the desire to come to an understanding with the Government of the United States. I do not think that for one moment we have imagined that in any agreement

or treaty which may be negotiated it would be either possible or desirable to make a one-sided bargain. What we desire is fair and equal dealing, and I believe you, gentlemen, are actuated by the same honorable sentiment.'

"I have referred to these events and quoted these speeches in order to bring before the minds of those who may have forgotten them, or may be too young to remember them well, the fact that there has been established between these two countries a tradition of friendly relations among public men, and between public men and public bodies on both sides of the line—a tradition which no man in his senses wishes to see broken, which every man who cherishes a love for peace and the prosperity which accompanies and promotes peace, wishes to see continued and confirmed. It was in accordance with this tradition of friendliness that Mr. Laurier, the leader of the Opposition in Canada, was entertained in Boston on the 17th instant at a banquet at which the Governor of the State was present. It is in accordance with this same tradition of friendliness that you, gentlemen, have done me the honor of inviting me to be present and address you this evening. I am here to-day animated by the friendliest feelings towards this country and by the most perfect loyalty to my own country and to my Queen. I may therefore venture to carry on in this address that tradition of reciprocal friendliness which Lord Elgin established, which Howe made memorable, which Lord Dufferin reasserted, and which I have learned from my lamented friend, Sir John Macdonald, to appreciate and value myself. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I think you do well to receive the name of Sir John Macdonald with applause, for

HE WAS YOUR FRIEND AS WELL AS MINE,

and when he died your interests as well as ours suffered a temporary loss. If I do not say an irreparable loss, it is because in this world no man is essential and all losses are repaired and all vacancies filled in time. But Sir John Macdonald established in his lifetime, and left to us, old colleagues, a tradition which we are willing, nay, very desirous to carry on, a tradition of friendly commercial relations with the United States consistently with the maintenance of Canadian interests in the protection of its rising industries. (Cheers.) To show you how well established is this tradition, let me detail for you as men of business the steps which in times past have been taken by the governments of which Sir John Macdonald and many of his late and present colleagues were members, to establish reciprocal relations between these countries.

THE HISTORY OF RECIPROCITY NEGOTIATIONS,

as appears by our laws and reports, shows that Canada has always been favorable towards fair and friendly trade relations with the United States. In 1847 an address was moved in the Legislative Assembly of Canada praying that negotiations should be entered into with the Government of the United States to procure the admission of Canadian products for consumption in their markets on the same terms as the products of the United States were admitted for consumption into Canada, that perfect reciprocity may be established between the two countries. In that same year old Canada passed a law reducing rates on import duties on United States products

from 12½ to 7½ per cent. and raising the rate upon British imports from 5 per cent. to 7½ per cent. This measure was passed, relying upon the supposed willingness of the United States to negotiate a fair measure of reciprocity between the two countries. It gave an immense advantage to the exporters of the United States, but no corresponding legislation was enacted by that country, nor was reciprocity granted. In 1849 an act was passed enacting that ' whenever under any law of the United States of America the articles enumerated in the schedule to that Act annexed, being the growth or production of this province, shall be admitted free of duty into said United States of America, then similar articles being the growth or production of the said United States, shall be admitted into this province free of duty when imported direct from the United States.' A similar bill was reported by the Committee of Commerce and passed by the House of Representatives, but failed of consideration in the Senate in both 1848 and 1849. In 1850 Sir Francis Hincks visited Washington on behalf of the Canadian provinces and addressed an able letter to the chairman of the Committee of Commerce in favor of the adoption of a measure of reciprocity on the basis followed by the Canadian act of 1849. His efforts failed, and the

UNITED STATES SENATE REFUSED TO ACT.

In 1854, after much correspondence, a treaty of reciprocity was at length negotiated. Under this treaty the following articles were declared free in both countries, and the treaty was to continue in force for ten years :—

SCHEDULE.

Grain, flour, and breadstuffs of all kinds; animals of all kinds; fresh, smoked and salted meats; cotton, wool, seeds and vegetables; undried fruits, dried fruits; fish of all kinds; products of fish, and of all other creatures living in the water; poultry, eggs; hides, furs, skins or tails undressed; stone or marble in its crude or unwrought state; slate; butter, cheese, tallow, lard, horns, manure; ores or metals of all kinds, coal, pitch, tar, turpentine, ashes, timber and lumber of all kinds, round hewed and sawed, unmanufactured in whole or in part, firewood, plants, shrubs and trees; pelts, wool, fish-oil, rice, broom-corn and bark; gypsum, ground or unground; hewn, wrought or unwrought burr or grindstones; dye stuffs; flax, hemp and tow; manufactured, unmanufactured tobacco, rags.

Scarcely had the treaty been put in operation when agitation began in the United States for its amendment or abrogation. The border cities complained that their manufactured goods met an import duty at the Canadian frontier, that Canadian duties on manufactures were raised from 15 to 20 per cent. This, in the face of the fact that manufactured goods were excluded by express words from the operation of the treaty, that United States duties on manufactured goods imported from Canada were higher than Canadian duties on like articles, and were raised by the Morrill tariff; that consular fees were imposed for proof of origin of free goods, and that the United States used no effort to obtain free use of the State canals for Canadian vessels. The agitation was taken up by

the Legislature of New York State and pressed upon Congress by a resolution of both Houses of that body. And it had its effect. In 1865 notice of the abrogation of the treaty was given by the United States, but neither Great Britain nor Canada abandoned the friendly attitude they had always taken. When the notice of the abrogation of the treaty of 1854 was given on March 17, 1855, by Mr. C. F. Adams, in London, to Lord John Russell, the British minister was disposed to think that the Government of the United States was not serious, so great a body of commercial opinion in the United States seemed favorable to the continuance of the treaty. In 1865 Sir Alex. Galt and Hon. W. P. Howland from Canada, Hon. W. A. Henry from Nova Scotia, and Hon. A. J. Smith from New Brunswick, were sent by their respective governments to Washington to co-operate with Sir F. Bruce in a friendly attempt at negotiation for a renewal of the treaty of 1854. These gentlemen found 'that no renewal or extension of that existing treaty would be made by the American authorities, but that whatever was done must be done by legislation.'

THE NEGOTIATIONS FAILED,

owing to the unfriendly feeling in Congress, a result which Lord Clarendon, in a despatch to Sir F. Bruce, most sincerely deplored. By the Customs Act of 1868, section 6, certain enumerated articles, the growth of the United States, were permitted to be imported into Canada from the United States, free of duty or at a less rate of duty than is provided in the said schedule upon the proclamation of the Governor-in-Council, whenever the United States shall provide for the importation of similar articles from Canada into that country free of duty or at a less rate of duty than is now imposed on the importation from Canada of such articles into the United States.' This was an olive branch held out by Canada to the United States in spite of the hostile experiences of previous years. In 1869 Sir John Rose was sent by the Canadian Government to Washington, and, in conjunction with Sir Edward Thornton, proposed new negotiations, with the consent and approval of the British Government of that time, for a reciprocity treaty based on the treaty of 1854, with the addition of manufactured articles to the free list, the mutual opening of the coasting trade, the protection of patents and copyrights, and a treaty of extradition. It was found impossible to make any propositions which the American Government would accept and the negotiations fell through. In 1871, during the session of the joint committee which framed the Washington Treaty, Sir John A. Macdonald, Commissioner for Canada, and his colleagues, the British Commissioners, proposed: 'That the Reciprocal Treaty of 1854 should be restored in principle.' The United States Commission replied in the negative. In 1872 the Government of Sir John Macdonald in response to a resolution of the Board of Trade of the Dominion, called attention to the fact "that both Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Canada have availed themselves of every suitable opportunity, since the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty, to press upon the Government of the United States the desirability of a renewal of reciprocal trade relations between the latter country and Canada, upon a broad and liberal basis; and submits for the favourable consideration of Your Excellency in Council that the Dominion Board of Trade be informed that

should the Government of the United States comply with the wishes of the United States National Board of Trade, the subject will receive the fullest consideration of the Government of Canada. The United States National Board af Trade in 1872 had petitioned Congress for a renewal of reciprocal trade relations with Canada ; and the Dominion Board of Trade had brought this fact to the notice of the Government of Canada.

" In 1874, Mr. George Brown, at the instance of the Mackenzie Government, which, by its minute of council, declared its belief that a most favorable opportunity was presented for a renewal of negotiations for a reciprocity treaty, was sent as a commissioner to Washington, and, in conjunction with Sir Edward Thornton, after a good deal of discussion, negotiated a draft treaty of reciprocity. But the President did not even allude to it by message, nor did the Senate of the United States, a thing within the scope of its authority, ratify or even deign to discuss it.

THE FAILURE OF GEORGE BROWN'S ATTEMPT

in 1874 had such an effect on Mr. Mackenzie's Government that during the remainder of its term it made no further attempt in that direction. In 1875, when Mr. Wallace asked if the Government intended to renew negotiations, Mr. Mackenzie replied : 'We will always be ready to negotiate for a reciprocity treaty with any nation.' In inaugurating the national policy of 1879, which had become an essential part of public policy in Canada, if it were to have any great national industries, the Government of Sir John Macdonald did not overlook their traditional good-will towards the United States and towards fair reciprocal relations. Therefore, the Customs Act of 1879, chapter 15, section 6, contained a special enactment still favoring reciprocity on a liberal scale. No answer was made to that offer. In 1887, when Sir Charles Tupper was at Washington, he made a formal proposal once more to the Government of the United States for a mutual arrangement providing for greater freedom of commercial intercourse between the United States and Canada and Newfoundland. Mr. Bayard's reply was a flat refusal. It will thus be seen that the position assumed by Canada has from the first been thoroughly consistent and continuously favorable to the adoption and maintenance of

A JUST AND REASONABLE MEASURE OF RECIPROCITY

with the United States. This has been shown : 1. In the address of 1847. 2. In the act passed in 1849, in the Customs enactment of statutory offences, in 1868, 1879, and 1888 ; and in the speedy ratification by our Parliament of the treaties of 1854, 1871 and 1888. 3. In the repeated efforts made by Canada for the continuance of the old treaty of 1854, and, after its abrogation, for the renewal of reciprocal relations on a fair and equitable basis. This exposé establishes that, in Canada, we all agree on the necessity of establishing closer commercial relations between the two countries. The disagreement begins on the means to attain that desirable object. The only party who has not shown his willingness to do anything, but whose consent is all-important in the matter, is Brother Jonathan, who must laugh in his sleeve at the sight of our struggle, if he has made up his mind

NOT TO TRADE WITH THE KANUCKS.

The great argument put forth in favor of unrestricted reciprocity is that it would open to Canada a market of sixty millions of people, forgetting that Canada would find in that market of sixty millions competitors in all we can sell to the Americans. They forget that the United States are the greatest producers of the world, and that there is not one article of the farm which they do not produce. They overlook the fact that our young industries would be crushed in the struggle in Canada with the powerful and old American manufactures. Of course, there is no denying the fact that your tariff is very hard on Canada. It pinches in several places, but we are not on that account to stand there and raise our hands to heaven. (Hear, hear.) In this strait, we did and are doing what shrewd and energetic Americans would have done in our position. We turned around and looked for new markets for our surplus productions. We have succeeded with many articles, and are sure to dispose of the balance before long, saying in the meantime to you: Gentlemen, if you wish to trade with us, we are ready; just now is the time, but remember we are no beggars and can afford to do without you, although not without some hard efforts. (Cheers.)

THE McKINLEY TARIFF

is a measure for the passing of which we ought not to feel angry with the United States. It has done us good. It has caused us to realize that we can stand upon our own feet, where before we leaned a little for support upon the United States. (Hear, hear.) Here and there, commodities we have to sell have experienced restricted sale in consequence of the McKinley tariff; but speaking in general the McKinley tariff has not been felt to be injurious in its results. The best proof of this is the circulation of bank notes. You know, we, in Canada, have the best banking system in the world, not excepting even the Scotch system, on which ours is modelled. (Hear, hear.) Years ago *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, of New York, eulogized the paper currency of Canada as possessing a decided proclivity all the time, and especially in dull seasons, to return to the emitting bank. That is to say, such notes cannot be kept out except so far as they are in active employment, for they can find no resting place outside of the vault of the issuer, and this makes them fluctuate in amount exactly in obedience to the wants of commerce. A few weeks ago Mr. Cornwall, cashier of the Bank of Buffalo, read a paper at the meeting of the American Bankers' Association in New Orleans, in which he said: 'Canada has for many years existed under a banking law which has given her a circulating medium fully meeting all the requirements of every season, both as to elasticity and safety, and to-day she has the most perfect currency system of any nation in the world except Scotland.' Now the circulation under this banking system is the best test of the state of the country. If there is prosperity, the circulation expands; if times are dull, down goes the circulation.

BEFORE AND AFTER.

Here is a table which shows the condition of things after and before the McKinley tariff went into force. The expansion of circulation from July to October of each year was:

1885	$4,968,000
1886	6,439,000
1887	6,167,000
1888	6,005,000
1889	4,890,000
1890	5,313,000
1891	6,602,000

You will see that the increase in the circulation required for the business of the country in October, as compared with July of 1891, was the largest of all the years given. It was, with the exception of three previous Octobers, the largest of any year. It was the largest in ten years. (Hear, hear.) Now, in Canada, the expansion of circulation from July to October in each year is due to the crops in the first place. It is the farmer and the moving of his products that run up the circulation. You will see, therefore, that

THE CIRCULATION IS THE BEST TEST

of the condition of the farmer. If the McKinley tariff had hit the Canadian farmer hard, the circulation would have been of only a normal character, or below the average. But the circulation last October was $1,250,000 above the average of the previous six years, or 24 per cent. of an increase. It is evident that the McKinley tariff has done Canadian farmers no harm. Why? Simply because we have sought for other markets and have been successful, and have found these markets were profitable, less liable to interference and with better prospect of future growth. (Hear, hear.)

THE MARKETS WE HAVE SOUGHT

are principally for food products; our lumber and other products of the forest, the world needs and takes. There is a constant demand for these. During ten years, 1880–89, exports of forest products averaged $22,386,000 a year. In 1890 they were $26,180,000, or $3,800,000 above the average. These look after themselves. So of the products of our mines. Our asbestos is the best in the world. Our phosphates are of the highest quality. Our nickel will soon be in the steel armor plates of the navies of the world, recent experiments in the United States showing the immense value of nickel in the composition of these armor plates.

NOW OUR FARM PRODUCTS

are finding their way to the old countries of Europe, principally to England. The points that troubled our farmers when the McKinley tariff came into force were barley, lambs, horses and eggs. The general trend of our exports of agricultural products during twenty-five years has been an increase in exports to Europe and relative decrease in such exports to the United States. That is quite natural and irrespective of tariffs. In 1868 we sent 60·36 per cent. of our farm products to the United States and 34·61 per cent. to Great Britain. In 1890 we sent 60·08 per cent. to Great Britain and 36·50 per cent. to the United States—as near as possible a complete reversal of the positions occupied by those two countries as takers of our farm products, and during that period the aggregate trade of Canada in those products has increased in a large proportion. The McKinley tariff

SIMPLY STIMULATED THE MOVEMENT

which has been going on for nearly a quarter of a century. With respect to barley, we set to work and grew two-rowed barley such as California grows, and now we appear in the English markets as competitors of California, instead of supplying the Eastern and Middle States, as we did. (Hear, hear.) We sent in 1890 to England five times the quantity of barley we did in 1889, and very much more in 1891 than 1890—the reports being very favorable and showing that our barley in England will have the same superiority it has in the United States. With respect to eggs, we used to send all we had to spare to the United States. It was convenient. It suited the stage of development of our transportation facilities. But the McKinley tariff came in force just when we had solved the question of transportation of fragile articles, and we were able, without a break to the continuity of movement, to switch off to the English market. This season we have sent three million and a half dozen of eggs to England, where in 1889 we sent about three thousand dozen. We have

SUBSTITUTED MILLIONS FOR THOUSANDS.

(Hear, hear.) The market for eggs in Great Britain is immense; and actual experience shows that we can put our eggs down at a lower rate of freight than France can send them. We can, with our cooler northern route across the Atlantic, transport them in the best condition. The market for horses is increasing. We sent nearly ten times as many horses to England in 1891 as we did in 1890. They commanded a higher price in England; and as soon as we raise just the sort of horses England wants we can get still higher prices. The day for the street car "screw" is past; electricity has electrocuted them. The McKinley tariff finished what little life there was left, and we are going in for better horses. (Laughter.) We did a large trade in lambs with the United States, and nice juicy food they were. The farmers thought that trade would surely feel bad effects from the McKinley tariff. The lamb trade went right along, and in Perth,

where the Conservative party had a large demonstration recently—and which is the centre of a large lamb-raising district—the farmers said they never got better prices than this season. In the article of cheese we find a market in Great Britain for all we can produce, and possibly it may surprise some that we exported to outside countries in 1890 over $9,300,000 against $8,600,000 exported by the United States to all countries. We have recently found that there is in England a market for all the poultry we can raise, and our initial ventures have proved such a success that the coming Christmas in England will

SEE MORE TONS OF CANADIAN POULTRY

distributed over the British Isles than there were in previous years single individuals of this class of food. In pork products we have discovered that we have a superiority of one cent a pound over those of the United States. This has stimulated production, and notwithstanding our increased export this season to Great Britain we have in the single province of Ontario nearly 400,000 swine more than we had in 1889. With respect to manufactures the recent census shows that the amount of capital invested has increased by over 200 per cent., as compared with ten years ago; that the average artisan produces more and is paid more than he was ten years ago. Now, gentlemen, let me remind you of a very important point when you talk of the offers made by the Liberals of Canada and of those of the Conservatives. There is a great difference in the position of men in power and men in opposition, in men with the grave responsibilities of office, and men having to answer only for each of themselves individually and not bound by any of their promises made in Opposition. With this truth before your eyes I can assert that if the Liberals came into power they would not give more to the Americans than we can, for this reason of state necessity, that, if they did, they could not carry on the Government of Canada for want of money. Canada has spent fifty millions in improving her waterways; one hundred millions in building railroads and many millions in other public works. These expenditures constitute the public debt which is to be paid, and the tariff is looked to to supply the interest. The carrying out of the Liberal platform would mean the greatest crisis that Canada has ever seen. The Liberals are too wide awake not to see the breakers ahead of their policy, and they would avoid them; but in the meantime, if they can use the Americans to hoist themselves into power, they do not see why they should not do it. The unrestricted reciprocity scheme will receive its quietus the very day the Liberals come into power. But I go further and say that

UNRESTRICTED RECIPROCITY IS DEAD.

"The more it is discussed the farther off it seems. An important letter by Hon. Edward Blake completely exhausts the question, and must prevent it from continuing to be the main plank of the Opposition platform. Rather than follow in its dangerous course the party of which he has so long been a distinguished leader, Mr. Blake has chosen to abandon public life altogether. When loyalty to the country prevails over loyalty to such close and long existing party ties, one is justified in feeling renewed confidence in the destiny of Canada.

Sir, the discussion of that important topic, the commercial intercourse between Canada and the United States, has given rise to some other questions involving directly the national existence of our country. First,

THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

There are those who say, and they are not far from telling the truth, that every native born Canadian is Canadian first and last, and that every day the proportion of native born Canadians increases as against the native born Britons forming the Dominion. It is true, and I admit it, that every Canadian wants at maturity a country of his own to live for, to fight for, and, if necessary, to die for. (Hear, hear and cheers.) Nobody is so deaf to the teachings of history, as not to realize the natural fact that colonies, like shoots from the parent tree, gradually but surely tend towards independent life. The only question is a question of time. The age of majority for children has been fixed by the wise legislation of great men, at different ages for different countries or different purposes, and it greatly depends upon the circumstances in which a young man is situated in relation to his father, either the line of business he pursues, the amount of interest he has or the measure of liberty he enjoys under the protection of his father before he finds it useful and wise to go into business on his own account. This is the very position of Canadians. Although dependent on the Mother Country for our protection among the other nations of the world, we are enjoying a measure of political liberty which

IS EQUIVALENT TO INDEPENDENCE.

(Hear, hear.) "In that respect I fully agree with Mr Laurier, who said at Boston the other day that 'England has granted to Canada and to all her colonies every right, principle and privilege which she once refused.' Nowadays has been realized the truth proclaimed by Charles James Fox, in the last century, that the only method of keeping a British colony is to give power to govern themselves. So, to-day, the British Government does not attempt to lay taxes on us or force British goods into our ports. We are at this moment at liberty, and we have the right, to tax British goods and British wares. With pride I say it, though Canada is still a colony, Canada is free. The only tie that binds Canada to the motherland is Canada's own will. After admitting that there is in Canada at the present moment no desire for independence, the Liberal leader says that he believes 'that the time has come when the powers of self-government that we have are not adequate to our present development; that we should be endowed with another power, the power of making our own commercial treaties.' Here I must

JOIN ISSUE WITH MR. LAURIER

and I cannot do better than to quote from the powerful contribution of your distinguished fellow-countryman, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, in one of the last numbers of *The Nineteenth Century*. Speaking against the scheme of Imperial Federation, which has attracted so much attention in late years, Mr. Carnegie says: 'It surely cannot

have failed to attract the attention of the members of the Imperial Federation League that even Sir John Macdonald, a native born Briton, was forced to announce that Canada was no longer to be the dependent, but the ally of Britain. In future, said Sir John, as quoted by Mr. Carnegie, 'England would be the centre, surrounded and sustained by an alliance, not only with Canada, but with Australia and all her other possessions, and there would be thus formed an immense confederation of freemen—the greatest confederacy of civilized and intelligent men that ever had an existence on the face of the globe.' "'Alliances,' adds Mr. Carnegie, 'are made between independent nations. Sir John must have also embraced the Republic, for this is necessary to make the greatest confederacy of intelligent and civilized men. Sir John asserted the independence of Canada to the fullest extent, when he recently commanded Lord Salisbury to tear up a treaty which had been agreed upon by Sir Julian Pauncefote and Secretary Blaine, with Lord Salisbury's cordial approval, which the British Government had presumed to make without consulting Canada.' I do not vouch for the accuracy of Mr. Carnegie's representation of Sir John's views, but I believe in that mysterious and natural growth of nations towards independence, which alone can give them the full development of their strength and resources. That sentiment does not exclude, in its patriotism, the

FULL EXERCISE OF ALLEGIANCE AND LOYALTY.

I am not prepared to say, with Mr. Laurier, that simple questions of fiscal policy or commercial treaties can bring the severance of Canada from its connection with Great Britain, as it did bring it in your country in 1775. I again prefer the authority of Mr. Carnegie, who writes that:

'It was not a question of taxes that produced the independence of the United States, this was the incident only which precipitated what was bound to come a few years sooner or later, independent of any home policy. Franklin and Adams had no idea of separating from the motherland when they led in the refusal to be taxed from Westminster; but they soon found themselves compelled by a public sentiment, until then latent, to advance to independence.'

Sir, I am a British born subject, and a Frenchman by parentage. I am proud of and loyal to the great country to which I politically belong; I am proud of and true to the blood that runs through my veins, that Norman blood which is the boast of the noblest scions of England. The two nations are deserving of your love and respect, as they have mine. You owe to one your birth as I owe her my freedom as a citizen; the other helped you in your struggle for independence, whilst she gave me my birth as a man. Both have noble traditions; in the banners of both there is glory enough to cover the world. (Loud Cheers.) With such a parentage, with such traditions of courage, of intelligence, of glory, are the Canadians to be denied the noble ambition, the sure destiny of being a people by themselves,

AN INDEPENDENT NATION?

I do not doubt it more than I doubt my sincere allegiance to the constitution of my country and to my sovereign. But I do not doubt either that no power on earth will force me into submission against my will or against my conscience. Against my will I would be made a slave, never a subject. And the hour has passed in the life of nations, and that hour never came in this free continent of America, when free men could be forced into another people's allegiance. I know that it has been said and written both in this country and in ours that the effect of the McKinley tariff will so cramp the trade and finances of the people of Canada that we will be compelled to seek annexation to the United States. Well, sir, I know the feelings of our people, with whom I have lived in constant communion of sentiment during the thirty years of my political life, and I do not hesitate a moment to say that no consideration of finance or trade can have influence on the loyalty of the descendants of the races of whom I spoke to you in the opening of my address, or tend in the slightest degree to alienate their affections from their country, their institutions, their Government and their Queen. (Cheers.) If any one in this meeting believes that in refusing commercial intercourse to Canada Congress would undermine the loyal feelings of our people, he is laboring under a delusion and doing injustice to a people whose

SENTIMENT OF LOYALTY IS AS INDELIBLE

as your own, and I cannot do better than affirm, with more energy if it be possible, with Mr. Laurier what he affirmed the other day in Boston: 'If such a boon as freedom of trade were to be purchased by the slightest sacrifice of my nation's dignity, I would have none of it.' Let us rather cherish the idea, Sir, that those solemn and proud professions of dignity and courage will not be needed, but that the public men of both countries, echoing the sentiments of the two nations, will find a happy solution of those important problems. For my own part, I look to the future with hope and with security, with Andrew Carnegie. I would cheerfully set aside the scheme of Imperial Federation, the theory of an empire trade league, to see realized the grand idea of a race alliance of all the countries blessed with the noble and free political institutions which Great Britain has devised for the good of humanity, an alliance which would hasten the day when one power would be able to say to any nation that threatened to begin the murder of human beings in the name of war under any pretence:

'Hold, I command you both; the one that stirs makes me his foe.
Unfold to me the cause of quarrel and I will judge betwixt you.'

A Kriegsverein with power so overwhelming that its exercise would never be necessary."

"These are noble words from a noble heart and I endorse them with the same enthusiasm as I endorse your own countryman's conclusion. 'Fate has given to Britain a great progeny and a great past. Her future promises to be no less great and prolific; but, however numerous the children there can never be but one mother,

and that mother, great, honored and beloved by all her offspring—as I pray she be—is this sceptred isle, my native land. God bless her.' (Cheers).

SIR, THERE IS NOTHING TO DESPAIR OF,

nothing to fear, when the great citizens of a country are disposed to approach and discuss the burning issues standing in the face of two countries in such a lofty spirit, with such a large and warm heart. (Cheers.) I have no doubt but that the same sentiment of noble fellowship which animates you, animates the great American nation. (Hear, hear.) I know that such is the sentiment which animates our people in Canada. I am not here as a representative of the Canadian Government. I have not and could not have asked such a mission when I accepted your kind social invitation, but I must not forget, and you cannot ignore, that I am a member of the House of Commons of Canada, and that I have the right to convey to you the expression of the good will, of the heartfelt sympathy, and the offer of the widest possible measure of reciprocity in friendliness and good wishes from my Canadian fellow-countrymen. Yes! In Canada we rejoice in your prosperity, in your magnificent development, in your patriotic love for your flag, in your solution of some of the great problems that troubled your national existence and in your assured hope of solving them all. But we are proud, too, of our own country and our own flag, of the splendor and strength of our resources and of the well nigh boundless possibilities of our future greatness. Even as you do, we love free institutions; these we have, and they are the best suited to us and to the genius of our population. If you have a republic, we have a veritable commonwealth—'a crowned republic' as it has been happily called. You are far ahead of us in point of numbers, but we know that our people live in peace and plenty no less than yours. (Hear, hear.) And it is our hope that Canada and the United States, in friendly rivalry in all the arts of peace, in all the marts of commerce, may go on through the ages to come, the happiness and prosperity of each acting as a stimulus to the best efforts of the other, each working out a destiny of the brightest augury, and so linked in the bonds of amity and loving kindness that they may be said in the majestic words of Milton, "To progress through the great circles of revolving centuries, clasping hands with unfailing joy and bliss in overmeasure forever." (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I thank you for your kind invitation, for your cordial reception and for your patient attention. This day will remain one of the brightest of my life, and for it I will ever thank you and never forget "Providence."